

Regional Oral History Office  
The Bancroft Library

University of California  
Berkeley, California

Ken Cloke  
Free Speech Movement Oral History Project:

Interviews conducted by  
Lisa Rubens  
In 2004

Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of Northern California, the West, and the nation. Oral History is a method of collecting historical information through tape-recorded interviews between a narrator with firsthand knowledge of historically significant events and a well-informed interviewer, with the goal of preserving substantive additions to the historical record. The tape recording is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The corrected manuscript is bound with photographs and illustrative materials and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and in other research collections for scholarly use. Because it is primary material, oral history is not intended to present the final, verified, or complete narrative of events. It is a spoken account, offered by the interviewee in response to questioning, and as such it is reflective, partisan, deeply involved, and irreplaceable.

\*\*\*\*\*

All uses of this manuscript are covered by a legal agreement between The Regents of the University of California and Ken Cloke dated 11/24/09. The manuscript is thereby made available for research purposes. All literary rights in the manuscript, including the right to publish, are reserved to The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Excerpts up to 1000 words from this interview may be quoted for publication without seeking permission as long as the use is non-commercial and properly cited.

Requests for permission to quote for publication should be addressed to The Bancroft Library, Head of Public Services, Mail Code 6000, University of California, Berkeley, 94720-6000, and should follow instructions available online at <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/ROHO/collections/cite.html>

It is recommended that this oral history be cited as follows:

Ken Cloke, "Free Speech Movement Oral History Project: Ken Cloke" conducted by Lisa Rubens in 2004, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2013.

## Table of Contents – Ken Cloke

Interview 1: October 9, 2004

### Tape 1

Attending FSM and Slate Reunion — Explaining personal philosophy — Family background — Early political activities — Berkeley CORE, SLATE, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee — Befriending Professor Al Bendich — On Jacobus tenBroek — Joining the BASCAHUAC (Bay Area Student Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee) — Meeting Mickey Lima — Discussing Burton White’s involvement in FSM — Civil Rights activism in the South — Fulton Lewis III — Working as engineer at KPFA — Critiquing with Clark Kerr and the Kerr Directives — TASC (Towards an Active Student Community) — Working during undergrad — ASUC Campaigning — On the Summer of ‘64 — Participating in the Law Students’ Civil Rights Research Council with C.B. King — Defending Lenny Bruce — On attending law school — Organizing law students through Ad Hoc Committee — Sheraton Palace Hotel — Thoughts on being arrested — Defining a revolutionary — Becoming a Socialist — Living with Mike Tigar — Joining the Du Bois Club — Moving in with Dynamite Hallinan — Mark Comfort — Roscoe and Ginny Proctor and the B-List — Enrolling at Boalt Law School — Becoming the first lawyer for Oakland Welfare Rights Organization — Working with Mario Savio — Remembering the arrest of Jack Weinberg — Involvement with the United Front — Recruiting Mike Smith, a lawyer for the Chancellor’s Office, to the FSM — Forming the Law Students’ Civil Rights Research Council — Expounding the emotional experience of the walk-in following Mario Savio’s “There Comes a Time” speech — Organizing a group of leftist lawyers with Mal Bernstein and Michael Tigar — Remembering moot court trial at Boalt — Organizing National Lawyers Guild student chapter — On his professional teaching background — Working as a mediator and arbitrator — Traveling to Cuba — Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) — On life after graduating from Boalt Law School — Working as a student chapter organizer for the Lawyers Guild — On the relationship between the New Left and the Lawyers Guild — Becoming more involved in the GI Movement — Representing the Veterans Against the War and the GI Coffee House Movement — Vaguely touching on Chicago in 1968 — Moving to Los Angeles to start Support Our Soldiers, the United States Servicemen Fund, and the Movement for a Democratic Military in the Marine Corps — Split between Revolutionary Youth Movement I and II and the Weathermen (Weather Underground Organization) — Teaching a class on “the liberation of women and men” at Columbia University — Working with the Gay Liberation Movement in New York — Returning to school for a second PhD in History at UCLA and a LLM [post-graduate law degree]

Interview #1: October 9, 2004

Tape 1

Rubens: You were here at Berkeley on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary. Have you been to other reunions?

Cloke: Yes, I was at the thirtieth and also the SLATE reunion.

Rubens: And so do you find yourself reflecting differently this time than you did last time? Before we began this interview you said something to that effect.

Cloke: I think everyone is a moving target and the stream continues to move.

Rubens: Well, let's begin with what are you actually doing now? How do you define yourself?

Cloke: My essential focus is trying to create a regime change in November. And so a part of what I've done is to organize a group called the Regime Change Salon in Santa Monica, and in Idaho where I do some writing, I am working for Kerry's presidency.

I think there's a larger question beneath your question which is how did what happened at that time inform who you are today and what you do today? And my answer is that they are indistinguishable. There is a continuous thread through my life of commitment to people, social improvement and social justice, and what's changed is not that, but the way it becomes manifested and the way I understand it. And what I now understand that I didn't understand then is how every large idea translates into very, very small human behaviors. So respect is a very grand idea, but it turns out that what it actually consists of is how you talk to your secretary or your gardener, or whoever it may happen to be. And the same is true of justice and freedom, so what you have to think about is how these ideas operate on a scale free basis. There's an idea in physics – there are several books about it right here in this room – which is called fractals, and in mathematics, a fractal can be thought of as a fraction of a dimension. And it looks exactly the same from a millionth of an inch and a million miles away, meaning the patterns are essentially the same. A coast line is an example of a fractal. I think politics also has a fractal form, meaning that there are ways in which what happens between nation states happens also between individuals, creating what Susan Sontag describes as the grand problem of world history, which is the issue of freedom versus tyranny. And these exist not just externally but internally. They're issues for everybody, and I think the difficulty is that of knowing when one thing is important and when another is important. That sounds a little cryptic, but if I can put it slightly differently, the *internal* issues of freedom and tyranny were not ones we grappled with. That came later. First of all, there wasn't time, and second, there wasn't an awareness of the relationship between the two. And there are

historical moments when – I don't know, is this is the sort of thing you want to talk about?

Rubens: Yes, let's pursue this a few more minutes and then we'll back up to how you were connected to the Free Speech Movement.

Cloke: There are moments when history wakes you up, slaps you in the face, and says, "You either show up or you lose something important." And that moment is happening right now with these elections and it was happening then. And what's really extraordinary is *why* that is the case. What makes that happen?

Rubens: Well maybe that's how we'll round this out, we'll look at what those moments were where history speeded up for you and seemed to open up at the same time, maybe not as far as it could have. Why don't you just tell me when you first came to Berkeley and why.

Cloke: I went to Reseda High School in the San Fernando Valley in Southern California, along with lots of FSMers – Well, actually, Michael Tigar and I were successive student body presidents. And we were very close friends.

Rubens: I did interview Michael.

Cloke: Michael and I were roommates in Berkeley. The way Michael came to Berkeley is that he came to my house and my parents had gone to Berkeley and my father said, "You need to go to Berkeley." And Michael said, "Okay." And we both found a spot at Barrington Hall, and he was here first because he was a semester before me. Then I came up and we were roommates for several years. Neither of us had very much of a political sense of what was happening. My father had fought in Spain in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Rubens: Was he a member of the Party?

Cloke: He was a member of the Communist Party. So was my mother who was a sort of Rosie the Riveter in the Oakland shipyard.

Rubens: What were their names?

Cloke: Richard is my father and Shirley is my mother. They went to Berkeley, but then as a result of -

Rubens: Was that where they met?

Cloke: That was where they met when he came back from Spain. But because he was in Spain and because they were in the Party they could not find a job as a result of McCarthyism. And we found a little spot in the San Fernando Valley

where we became chicken ranchers, which was the only way we could make a living.

Rubens: Your family's not Jewish though?

Cloke: My mother's Jewish so I'm half Jewish. That makes me legally Jewish.

Rubens: Were they solitary, I mean single family chicken farmers, or were they part of —

Cloke: Yes, well they were part of a co-op, of course, and organized the co-op. But still, I grew up without much of a sense of politics. I knew my parents were concerned with political issues but they didn't impose them on us. It seems there were two ways political people at that time raised their kids. One was to impose politics on them, and the other was to just have values and live your values, and that's what my parents did. So I didn't know anything about the Communist Party. I didn't know they belonged. I knew nothing about anything because we were chicken ranchers.

Rubens: What did student body politics, being student body president mean to you? What was that a reflection of, and outgrowth of?

Cloke: It was just total fun. I think it was partly just youthful exuberance. I just expanded and fell into whatever was happened, and that was something that happened. But I didn't have any sense of running for office for some special reason or anything. I was just enjoying myself, truthfully.

Rubens: And was Tigar an influence in the sense of a sort of model or someone — ?

Cloke: Well we were very close friends. And it was sort of — This is in the San Fernando Valley, which was very rural — And to have someone who is intelligent is a great gift, so we found each other. And there were other people who also went to Reseda High School including Kate Coleman, Susie Griffin, Pat Kovner, let's see, Dian Shulkin. Who else? Anyway, there were quite a number of us.

Rubens: So Berkeley was the place to go.

Cloke: Berkeley was the place to go.

Rubens: Nothing else was considered? You wanted to get away from home in that you wouldn't go to UCLA or because your parents had been there?

Cloke: I didn't know very much about it. They suggested it. We were more naïve and less cosmopolitan and I hadn't really given it a great deal of thought. I think it may actually have been the only place I applied to. It was just clear to me that I was going to go there.

- Rubens: I don't think it's like today where people considered all over the country.
- Cloke: No, it was different. The first radicalizing thing that happened to me was compulsory ROTC, which I detested. The second was taking speech classes from professors who allowed you to think, and I really grew in those classes. And the third of course was the civil rights movement. So what happened is that in the fall of 1959 I guess it was – Is that right?
- Rubens: You started in the spring of –
- Cloke: Of 59' so it would have been –
- Rubens: Yeah the fall. Your second semester?
- Cloke: My second semester.
- Rubens: Fall of 59'.
- Cloke: Yeah, I think that's right. I saw Fred Moore protesting compulsory ROTC and conducting a hunger strike on the steps of Sproul Hall, and I agonized over it and decided to sign his petition. I then became interested in finding out who was doing something about this, and it turned out there was an organization called SLATE. So I met Aryay Lenski and Mike Miller, who were masterful organizers, masterful. I learned –
- Rubens: Say just a little bit more about that.
- Cloke: I think the best way is to give you an illustration. Aryay would plan a meeting by going person to person to different individuals and asking them what they thought about a topic. And when they came up with a response, he would say "That's a great idea, would you like to come to a meeting and say what you just said?" And they would all show up and he would orchestrate an extraordinary event in which somehow you ended up being responsible for doing something you had no idea about beforehand. So I became very involved in opposing compulsory ROTC. I picketed in my uniform but was not flunked out like Jim Creighton for doing so. But it wasn't just that. I then became interested in civil rights and CORE, and began picketing the Woolworth Kress department store on Shattuck in support of Southern sit-ins. It's important to have a sense that these were the beginnings of lunch counter sit-ins sponsored by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the South, and by CORE in Berkeley. But there were only maybe fifteen, twenty people who came regularly to those picket lines.
- Rubens: And this wasn't campus CORE, this was Berkeley CORE that you're talking about?

- Cloke: Berkeley CORE. And then of course Caryl Chessman was executed. And I was one of the people who was – I guess I was co-chair of – what was it called? It must have been –
- Rubens: Was it Ad Hoc committee?
- Cloke: It was some kind of campus committee against capital punishment. I can't remember the exact name. I have it written down somewhere. Anyway I was partly in charge of organizing the demonstration at San Quentin the night Carol Chessman died, trying to bring students to it, and speaking against capital punishment. But the real galvanizing event for the student movement on the Berkeley campus was the appearance of HUAC in San Francisco.
- Rubens: So your first semester you're getting sort of acclimatized, that fall you're really active, you said in speech classes and ROTC, so SLATE would later – Was the SLATE supplement already coming out?
- Cloke: No, no, years later.
- Rubens: No I didn't think so. Someone was just saying about how that's how they knew to take speech classes because SLATE. Do you recall, did you take Al Bendich's class?
- Cloke: Yes, yes of course. Al Bendich was a huge influence on me, and I later worked with him doing research for the defense in the Lenny Bruce obscenity trial. And he, I think, of all the professors who were here, including Richard Drinnon had the greatest influence on me. He was the SLATE advisor.
- Rubens: When did you have him?
- Cloke: For undergraduate history. But I was already moving in a radical direction. I think he was impressed because I was one of the few people who recognized the photographs of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman that he had on his wall. And so we formed a friendship, and I knew his wife as well.
- Rubens: How come you did recognize them?
- Cloke: I'd been reading about them and had seen their photographs.
- Rubens: And so in terms of SLATE picketing ROTC. Were you not sanctioned or reprimanded? Was there any repercussion of that?
- Cloke: Well there were a series of different events that took place around compulsory ROTC, and the issue was presented before the regents. And several points there were picket lines. I would sometimes wear a little sign on my ROTC hat that said "Abolish ROTC." But basically I was part of a committee to abolish compulsory ROTC that was a part of SLATE. And we worked very hard to

organize demonstrations. There were a number of us who picketed in our uniform when this happened. But Jim Creighton was the one who was singled out – They flunked him from compulsory ROTC because of picketing in his uniform and if I recall correctly, kicked out of school. And he was later reinstated. I think based on the advocacy of Jacobus tenBroek, who was another huge influence on me.

Rubens: Yeah, I can imagine. Did you later take him?

Cloke: I not only took him but was his research assistant when I was in law school. Took him, read him, worked for him. A genius.

Rubens: People talk about the vivid image of him coming out of the Academic Senate on December 8<sup>th</sup> raising his white cane over his head as a sign of victory and it bringing them to tears.

Cloke: He wrote *The Anti-Slavery Origins of the Fourteenth Amendment*, it's a brilliant work. But I remember two things about him: one is how, perhaps because he was blind, he could always tell who was coming from the sound of their footsteps outside his office. So when you would arrive and with the door still closed he would say, "Come in Ken." And the second was his house, which for a blind person you would think would be highly ordered, but it was a mess, and I wondered, how does this man get around? Anyway, those are kind of trivial, personal recollections.

Rubens: So you weren't flunked, you didn't have any particular repercussion as a result of your anti-ROTC stuff?

Cloke: I was not flunked as a result of that. But I later flunked ROTC, the only class I ever flunked, for criticizing the bombing of Hiroshima.

Rubens: Oh, well better to be flunked for that than –

Cloke: Yeah, they gave me sixty demerits for doing that.

Rubens: And how did that – why don't we finish that story. How did, in the course? I mean you're challenging the presentation and Mr. Cloke, this is –

Cloke: In the course, in the class, yeah.

Rubens: So you were getting to where you said that the politicizing event for you was HUAC.

Cloke: Yeah, I think that the important thing to see about this is, again going back to this idea of microscopic changes, that what is happening is not only that I was beginning to sort of see how my life was being run according to principles that I didn't agree with, and successively, increasingly, as I faced that and

confronted it, I become more able to be myself. So there is actually an *experience* of freedom. Freedom from fear, from terror, freedom from the coercion that begins to take place inside of you. And with each successive generation that that increases, because for people who grew up in the 1950s, everyone believed it was crazy to do things that didn't feel crazy to us. So it takes somebody who is willing to do something that seems crazy to other people in order to change the world.

Rubens: Well, I don't know if this seemed crazy, but you're taking successive steps. I mean, you're picketing against capital punishment, you're challenging ROTC, you're challenging hiring practices. So, were these – did you see these as incremental steps too? Or were these all of a piece?

Cloke: I don't know whether I saw it that way, but I *experienced* them that way. I was growing rapidly, and I think that there's a shocking experience which is very profound and very deep, and that is to see the iron fist inside the velvet glove. To experience the oppressive power of the state firsthand. To watch the media lie, to experience an event, go through it, know what happened, and then read an account of it that is a total distortion – these are radicalizing experiences.

Rubens: So are you seeing this? Are you seeing this even before HUAC?

Cloke: Yeah, but HUAC was so blatant and so clear that you couldn't escape the message.

Rubens: Now SLATE was actually instrumental in getting students out there.

Cloke: There was SLATE, which was kind of an umbrella organization, and then there were a series of *ad hoc* groups that included SLATE members and other people who were not SLATE members. So there was a committee that was set up after the HUAC hearings called BASCA HUAC.

Rubens: BASCA?

Cloke: Bay Area Student Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. But what happened in San Francisco— First of all I'm sure you know about Doug Wachter, a UC student who was subpoenaed by HUAC.

Rubens: Yes, I was going to ask you if you knew him.

Cloke: I knew him, but not particularly well before this, but of course as a result of this we all gathered around him. And meanwhile there's not only the issue of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, there is the issue of the ability to work in coalition with members of the Communist Party within SLATE, which was a hot issue. The Young People's Socialist League was highly critical of the Communist Party and wanted SLATE to refuse to

participate in any coalition with members of the Communist Party. Mike Miller was one of the people who supported that. I did not. I was on the other side saying that we had to build coalitions. I wasn't myself a member of the Communist Party, but felt that these people were on our side – I mean I didn't see anything about the Party that was anything to be afraid of. And Mickey Lima, head of the Northern California CP, seemed like a very jovial, decent, committed person.

Rubens: And how would you have met Mickey Lima or seen him?

Cloke: I don't remember at what point I met Mickey. It might have been a little later. But there were lots and lots of meetings around legal defense and Communist Party members were very active in that. So I was very active in BASCAHUAC and went to San Francisco for the HUAC hearings and was outside the hearing room, not inside, I couldn't get inside the hearing room. And like I said in the speech the other night, I can still hear Bill Mandel's speech. You've heard it?

Rubens: No, I can't remember it, I maybe – It made me want to go look it up.

Cloke: Here's nearly exactly what he said: "Honorable beaters of children, both uniformed and in plain clothes, honorable Dixiecrats wearing the clothing of a gentleman. Gentlemen, if you think that I will cooperate with this bunch of Judases, of men sitting here in violation of the United States constitution, gentlemen, you are insane." That was his speech. It was just so intense and powerful. But what was happening outside was that we gathered as peaceful protestors.

Rubens: Was this being piped out?

Cloke: It was being piped out. And we were attacked by the police, washed down the steps of City Hall.

Rubens: So you were one of those?

Cloke: I was demonstrating but was not washed down the steps. And it was all for nothing, for nothing.

Rubens: There are photos of protestors being hosed down the steps. It seemed incredibly forceful.

Cloke: Oh absolutely. This was fire hoses.

Rubens: Were people injured.

Cloke: Oh yeah. Bouncing on their tuckuses.

- Rubens: Oh yeah, they could have tumbled over, hit the wall –
- Cloke: Yes, but it was the shock of it. You just couldn't believe they were actually going to do this. Nothing like this had ever happened to me before. This is what Jackie Goldberg was discussing, about how we believed in all this stuff, we weren't special.
- Rubens: The American tradition to –
- Cloke: Yes, I mean we were no more special than anybody. We simply took it seriously that the constitution stood for something. We were incredible naive.
- Rubens: Was this an integrated group too, by the way?
- Cloke: Yes, but not by much. There was a black SLATE member whose name was Duran Bell who was there, and some other minority members as well.
- Rubens: I've never heard that name, I was thinking that it also would have been integrated by San Franciscans.
- Cloke: Yes, especially when the Longshoremen came out, but the whole campus was much less integrated at that time. And let's see. Well Duran Bell was the main African American that I remember who was there. And he's still around somewhere. He would be worth interviewing. Anyway, then what happened is that they made the film *Operation Abolition* about the event. So we went across the state. I spoke in Fresno and Merced and several other cities, Los Angeles and others. And we went up and down the state speaking to whoever would listen to us. We would show the film and then we would talk about what actually happened and raise money to defeat HUAC.
- Rubens: That was the HUAC one and then the counter was – Who actually made the counter?
- Cloke: Burton White – we made a record that I still have.
- Rubens: I just came across his name recently and I was thinking, gee is he still around?
- Cloke: Yes, he was also in FSM and recording everything.
- Rubens: That's what I understand. But he did the record?
- Cloke: Yeah, he did a lot of the editing on it. All of this was happening at once in May 1960, including the Woolworth Kress picket lines, the execution of Carol Chessman, the HUAC hearings on May 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup>, something like that. All of these things happening at once and it was the beginning of the unraveling of McCarthyism. Not in the sense that it didn't actually begin

unraveling years before. But this was a serious, far-reaching unraveling. And why all these things happened in one month is unclear to me. But it was -

Rubens: That's the contingency of history, the accident maybe.

Cloke: I think that there's more to it than that. There is chance and there is necessity and they're both influences in. There's an accident of who, what, when, where, how, but the why is no accident. And to some extent even those others are not exactly accidental. So, for example, you can say that which molecule of water begins to boil first is accidental, chaotic, and inherently unpredictable. It is sensitively dependent on initial conditions. But the fact that boiling is going to happen, that's part of a physical law that is working under the surface. So the difficult is to have a sense of both. There was no question in my mind at the time that history was a vector, that it had direction and momentum. This was not pure accident, in spite of the fact that there were a lot of accidents about how it unfolded. That's what I'm trying to convey.

Rubens: Were you conscious of having this – Did you have a historical consciousness at this point?

Cloke: No, I didn't.

Rubens: Alright, so we'll wait just a little bit about this. You knew things were speeding up.

Cloke: I felt it.

Rubens: This is momentous, this is new.

Cloke: Yes, and what happens when you're actually on the cutting edge of history is an extraordinary thing, because it turns out that what you decide and do becomes history. That's shocking. And it's a little scary.

Rubens: Did you have fear? I mean can you remember having fear or anxiety during this?

Cloke: I remember having fear. Well, there were layers of fear. The first for me of course was the fear of signing that petition against compulsory ROTC.

Rubens: Had your parents told you don't sign a petition?

Cloke: No, they hadn't. In fact that was how I discovered that they were communists, by going back home and telling them that I had done these things and finding that they were proud of me. So I didn't have the kind of generational conflicts that other people had on that level or on these issues. I had them at other levels. There was also a fear of "are you worthy?" Can you

do this? All of a sudden there are immense consequences riding on you, and who the hell are you? Then there's a fear that has to do with what happens when you're alone. I worked in the South during the civil rights movement and I never experienced fear when I was in a demonstration, in spite of being attacked and tear gassed and confronting the Ku Klux Klan and being chased and shot at and all of those things. But when I was alone, it was a little bit different. There was a fear of confronting evil the first time you face it, when you first actually see its face and recognize that is somebody who can actually kill you. At one point I was stopped in the South for driving in an integrated car in Baker County Georgia, and I was a law student at the time so I turned to the police officer and I said, "Excuse me officer, are we under arrest?" He pulled out his gun and he put it up to my head and he said, "You keep your mother fucking mouth shut." And I knew he could shoot me and nothing would happen, nothing at all. And there was a kind of a pointlessness to that and a fear of it. But on the other hand, there is the realization that if you can figure out how to handle that, you are free and there is nothing they can do to you anymore.

- Rubens: At a smaller level, was there, fear might not be word, but a certain kind of anxiety or tension over maintaining your classes? You were a student after all. Or did school come fairly easily to you?
- Cloke: It came easier the *more* I became involved in politics in a bizarre way. In the first place, politics was a full time job. More than a full time job. School was actually secondary. But the interesting part was that because of having my eyes opened, because of the unleashing of my passion, because of the conquering of my fear, what happened is that I actually had an edge and a leg up in critical thinking that other students did not have, an ability to look at any subject and have a way of understanding it that other people didn't have. So if you know a lot about anything, it doesn't matter what it is, there is a way that knowledge helps you understand other things.
- Rubens: You use science as a metaphor and it's wonderful. How did that – were you studying science at the same time or did that —
- Cloke: Actually, when I first came to Berkeley, I was majoring in biochemistry. And then I switched to physics and then I switched to I think psychology and then I switched to – there were a whole bunch of different switches like that, but basically I couldn't conceivably spend the time required to seriously study any scientific courses. So I ended up majoring in history and speech because I could do those and they were connected to what I really wanted to know. But what was happening to all of us was that we were being molded, shaped, *created* as historical instruments by the experience of history itself.
- Rubens: But you were also creating institutions. I mean, you decided – Was SLATE the main organization through which you worked then after, let's now move on, we're in May of 1960, what do you do that summer?

Cloke: The first summer I went back to – let's see was that, yeah – I went back to Los Angeles and organized San Fernando Valley CORE, which became the second largest CORE chapter in the country in one month. And this was the beginning of the Freedom Rides. We sent several Freedom Riders to the South. Now was that – I've forgotten whether that was – It may have been the summer of 61'.

Rubens: I was trying to see if there was as direct outcome from after HUAC.

Cloke: Well, there was the SLATE summer conference that we began to organize. Every summer we had the SLATE summer conference. SLATE was one of a group of campus political parties. And at one point I went to Madison, Wisconsin for a meeting of the National Student Association where I was the author of a resolution to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which won and I received a standing ovation for presenting the argument for it and met Fulton Lewis III.

Rubens: For the record, Fulton Lewis was –

Cloke: He was a right wing pro-HUAC advocate who I later debated at Berkeley. We had a well-attended debate and there were many other people who were also debating him around the country on abolishing the House Committee. I think that also happened that summer. By the fall, I was already a seasoned political organizer, because there weren't that many of us around, and the work was so intense and we were working around the clock, and we just learned very fast, and I knew how to put out a leaflet and organize a demonstration. Then I became for the first time a SLATE candidate for undergraduate representative on the student government, along with a series of other SLATE candidates. I was asked to do that by Carey McWilliams Jr., who was a member of SLATE.

Rubens: I also interviewed him. It is a terrific interview. And were you elected?

Cloke: I was not elected.

Rubens: Was SLATE doing well in student body elections at that time?

Cloke: Not particularly. Well, before the graduate students were kicked out of the Associated Students, there was always a graduate student representative elected by SLATE. But on the undergraduate level, I think Michael and I were the first SLATE candidates who were elected as undergraduates, but I could be wrong about that.

Rubens: Mike Miller?

Cloke: No, Mike Tigar. Miller was a graduate student SLATE representative, and so was Cindy Lemke.

- Rubens: And what about KPFA? Is that starting about then too?
- Cloke: Yea, I became an engineer at the station in Berkeley. Well, the first thing that happened was when Michael Tigar and I were rooming together at Barrington Hall, he began doing some work at KPFA, and I started doing some of it with him. So I became an engineer.
- Rubens: So you were interested more in the mechanism of it, the switching, the technical aspect of it?
- Cloke: I was interested in the technical parts of it, being an engineer and also I just wanted to support the station. I didn't have an interest in being on the air. In spite of all the high school student body president stuff, I was actually rather shy. I think of myself as unassuming. But I was following a path that was opening in front of me.
- Rubens: And it was the organizational skills that you really, in which you excelled and that you were acquiring and that you were really putting to use.
- Cloke: I learned to become an organizer.
- Rubens: It involved speaking and it involved going around –
- Cloke: Everyday at the little tree in front of Dwinelle Plaza we would stand up and address the crowd. I remember Maurice Zeitlin speaking for 8, 10, hours on the Cuban Revolution, which was another event that had an impact on me and others. But what happened that changed all of this for me was that Clinton Jencks, who was the Anglo organizer in the blacklisted movie "Salt of the Earth," taught a class on Marxism for Berkeley students, SLATE members, and anybody who wanted to come.
- Rubens: At Berkeley or sort of outside Stiles Hall?
- Cloke: No, outside, at his home and other places. And that really changed my understanding of what was happening, because here was something that spoke to me and gave me a world view that allowed me to understand what I was experiencing in a very different way.
- Rubens: So when does this come in this history?
- Cloke: 1961.
- Rubens: Okay, part of the evolution of your activism. What was he like as a teacher ?
- Cloke: Magnificent. He was a wonderful— an authentic, warm, humane, decent human being. Very unpretentious and very intelligent. And he was married

to a gorgeous woman who I had a crush on. I later saw him again when he was teaching at San Diego State.

Rubens: So he got a regular job?

Cloke: He finally got a regular job, but he was blacklisted for years. So, SLATE began to grow and the demands in terms of organizing became greater and greater. We had to figure out: how do you participate in student government without becoming part of the sand box? And how do you prevent opportunism from cropping up, so that you're not in there for careerist reasons but to be a voice for change and what's happening in the world? And so, I don't remember exactly when it was, but I think it was in 1961, I was elected for the first time to student government, and became student representative on the Executive Committee (Ex Com) of the ASUC.

Rubens: And what was that? You know I interviewed Charlie Powell, who was ASUC president, but we really didn't talk about the mechanisms of student government. He had been a rep, I think his sophomore year, but the executive committee was made up of the lead officers and then –

Cloke: And the representatives at large. So there were, I don't know, 18 people, something like that, on the committee. Michael Tigar and I were elected. I think we were the first two SLATE representatives who were not graduate students. And then what happened is we just started bringing up resolutions to support the civil rights movements, to condemn the firing of someone, or to speak up against the Kerr Directives, this sort of thing. There was also an independent representative, meaning there were representatives from the fraternities and sororities and independent representatives for the "independents," people who lived in independent housing. The independent representative was Roger Hollander. And at one point, Roger Hollander and I brought a motion before the Executive Committee critiquing the Kerr Directives. And he and I wrote an article in the *Daily Californian* at the beginning of the academic year in 1961, 1962, challenging the Kerr directives and this is on page 74 of your book here. Then all of a sudden, the next day, there was an article on the front page of the *Daily Cal* by Clark Kerr, titled "To Mistrs Cloke and Hollander". That was the headline, with a black box around it, basically accusing us of the "big myth" technique and saying that the Kerr Directives were the best policy the campus had ever had, and if we didn't like them he would be happy, if we requested, to go back to the previous rules. It was a snitty little attack on us by the President of the University, saying "Well, if you're going to be so critical of us, you can go back to what you had before, so take that." It was just gratuitously nasty. So we answered and said that that wasn't the issue, whether the new regulation were better, but whether the administration had the right to set arbitrary rules governing social and political activity on the part of campus organizations. And then it says, here's a quote from our letter: "In a democratic society the source of authority for such regulations is rightfully derived from the society's

constituents which in the case of the student community are the students and not the university administrators.” We also put out the “Big Myth” pamphlet that Michael Tigar and I and several others wrote together.

Rubens: And the big myth is?

Cloke: Kerr had accused Hollander and me, and SLATE by implication, of the big myth technique, which is drawn from Adolph Hitler, who, in *Mein Kampf* addresses what is often translated as “the big lie” technique, in which he said that if the lie is big enough, you can get away with it. That was his essential point. So Kerr was accusing us of creating a big lie about the Kerr Directives.

Rubens: That they weren’t liberal, that they didn’t allow for student –

Cloke: Yes, but here is the gigantic personage of President Clark Kerr deigning to write a letter to two lowly students. It was completely shocking, but what it recognized at a subtle level was that we were actually winning.

Rubens: The tide was turning.

Cloke: The tide was turning. And the same thing happened in the Oakland anti-draft demonstrations, when instead of allowing people to sit-in peacefully, the police waded in and beat people up. And the reason they did so was because they knew that non-violent resistance was winning and couldn’t allow it to continue anymore. We won that round, so they escalated. And we escalated in response.

Rubens: But Kerr’s not escalating here is he?

Cloke: Yes, I think it was an escalation because he didn’t have to do that.

Rubens: He’s throwing down a gauntlet.

Cloke: He held the power and we couldn’t have touched him, but once he engaged us it was an invitation to respond, and it was perfect. It allowed us to articulate ...

Rubens: So what happened?

Cloke: So this was actually the beginning of the FSM.

Rubens: Yes, there’s a strike isn’t there?

Cloke: Well, there’s not a real strike. The real strike came during FSM, but what there was, was a huge broadening of our coalition, a massive outreach to students who now, all of a sudden, when they see this, it became clear that it was not some isolated prohibition that had to do with socialist student groups

or with SLATE, which was a fringe organization in some peoples minds, but instead had to do with a policy that now had something to do with them.

- Rubens: And of course that's coming out of the student body government which is in Kerr's mind, and I guess plenty of others, being taken over by this.
- Cloke: Well the truth of it was, as we discovered later, that they were being pressured by Senator Knowland and the right wing in California.
- Rubens: The Board of Regents.
- Cloke: Yes, so they were trying to get us to shut up and push us off campus so they wouldn't be embarrassed by us, as opposed to saying "this is academic freedom, we need to stand up for the rights of students to speak no matter what their ideas are." But McCarthyism was still present. That's why Bettina Aptheker was absolutely right when she said last night that this was the death McCarthyism." I think that is an absolutely correct statement.
- Rubens: But you're locating it a few years earlier.
- Cloke: Well, yes, the beginning. And the beginning really took place with SLATE and with TASC [Towards an Active Student Community] before SLATE, but what this incident represents is a massive expansion in the collapse of repression. Again, in physics if you watch what happens as something that is predictable and in equilibrium begins to move in the direction of chaos, what you find is bifurcation points, and then the multiplication of bifurcation points so that, at a certain point, chaos is reached. And this is "deterministic chaos," meaning that out of the chaos came a higher form of order, or a higher level of order. So, a waterfall and a sunset are also examples of chaos.
- Rubens: So what is happening after the Kerr, after this brouhaha starts?
- Cloke: The first thing that happened is that Kerr lost legitimacy in the Gramscian sense, meaning that the university administration was now perceived to be less powerful. As long as there is a mystique created through authority and distance, fear can continue. But when you see that the emperor has no clothes —
- Rubens: But are you saying this is perceived amongst you, SLATE, the organizers, or do you think there's a—How would you measure that? How would we see evidence of that happening in the student body at large?
- Cloke: Well, in the first place, it was something that did have an impact on us because we had had to compromise in order to continue addressing the issues we wanted to address. We had agreed to refuse to call ourselves a campus political party. We had agreed to other restrictions, and in spite of that were

suspended, and we fought against the suspension. But we were fighting all of this –

Rubens: What year was the suspension? It's got to be afterward if you're –

Cloke: I don't recall, 1960 maybe? I'm going to send you something I wrote, "From TASC to SLATE to FSM," which is a history of these civil liberties battles. It's in there. But the second part was that we were gaining adherence, and we knew we were gaining adherence. We were out organizing all the time, so I was speaking frequently at fraternities and sororities and independent living and co-ops, all over the place.

Rubens: And how are you being received?

Cloke: Better and better. First with a sort of fascination and fear, of like, who are these people? Then with marginalization, being placed on the fringe.

Rubens: And literally when do you speak? During dinner time, or how do you get their attention?

Cloke: Yes. Part of the idea of running candidates was to find a way in which we could not be stopped from speaking. So my main platform in running as a SLATE candidate was civil liberties. I would go around and speak about civil liberties, about free speech, about the Kerr directives, and I would do this at fraternities and sororities, dorms, coops, etc.. And you could feel the change beginning to happen, so when Jackie Goldberg became a member of a sorority, I spoke at her sorority house, and other SLATE candidates did too, and that was one of the ways she came into the movement. She was an example of how the only thing you needed was to have a logical mind and a willingness to follow that logic to its conclusion and you would end up with us. We could feel it also in the peace demonstrations. There was a SLATE peace committee organized by Steve Salaaf, which became an independent SLATE committee and was massive. It had hundreds of people who were part of it. SLATE by this time now had maybe 250 members, something like that.

Rubens: So we're talking 61', 62'.

Cloke: Yes, and by that time –

Rubens: Were there actual membership cards?

Cloke: No, it was a little more new left than that. People knew and you would sign up, but it was a lot less formal than that. And we would have meetings all the time where lots of people came who were not members.

Rubens: Were there peace demonstrations?

- Cloke: Oh yeah, for example, against nuclear testing when Kennedy came.
- Rubens: That big thing when Kennedy came.
- Cloke: That was a big demonstration. Lots of students turned out against nuclear testing. I went around and gave lots of speeches in various places and was on the SLATE executive committee at this time. I think Michael Myerson was president of SLATE, and then Michael Tigar was president of SLATE, and I became president of SLATE after Michael. And I guess it was in 62' that I became president of SLATE.
- Rubens: And do you remember some of the highlights of your tenure there?
- Cloke: As president?
- Rubens: Yeah.
- Cloke: Well, several things were happening. First, there was a new generation. Generations seemed to be changing almost every year, so you can actually track what was happening in organizations and the shifts that were taking place year by year, and each generation of activists was completely different. The generation I came from was an organizing generation, and that was the skill that was valued and focused on and used. Then agitation began to overtake organization, as I was saying in my talk. And part of that happened while I was president of SLATE. I was in the *Daily Californian* a lot for offering all kinds of resolutions on global issues in student government.
- Rubens: You were no longer in student government by then?
- Cloke: I think I was still in student government. The big change that was happening was in the South. SNCC was gaining strength big time and Chuck McDew who was the head of SNCC, came through and stayed at my house, and we had all kinds of demonstrations, and I began thinking seriously about going South. I guess that was the year I organized Freedom Riders who went South, and several SLATE members went. Bob Kaufman who you probably didn't meet because he died, Pat Kovner, and other SLATE members. Pat is here this weekend if you want to interview her.
- Rubens: Really?
- Cloke: Yes, and she went through San Fernando Valley CORE, which I organized that summer.
- Rubens: Where is she living now, do you know?
- Cloke: She's living in sort of northern California, not Santa Rosa or Mendocino, but close by.

- Rubens: Alright, maybe you'll point her in my direction, or get her to one of these –
- Cloke: I will.
- Rubens: Okay, good. Pat Kovner and you mentioned another person who went South.
- Cloke: Bob Kaufman, who else went? A bunch of people. I went the next year and SLATE was one big part of my experience but the South was a huge, huge, thing for me.
- Rubens: So, summer of 63' you were in the South?
- Cloke: Summer of 64'.
- Rubens: So you went the summer that three students were killed? You were there?
- Cloke: Yes, and my wife at that time was on the Selma march. I went to Montgomery, Selma, Greensborough County, which you wouldn't have ever heard of, in Alabama. But mostly I worked in South Georgia, Albany, Americus, Baker County and surrounding counties.
- Rubens: And did you go with SLATE people?
- Cloke: No, I went with SNCC and the Law Students' Civil Rights Research Council, which I helped organize, and sent students to work with civil rights lawyers in the South. I worked with C.B. King.
- Rubens: I don't know who that is.
- Cloke: A brilliant, wonderful, black lawyer in South Georgia – the only black lawyer – for South Georgia. This was also a project of the National Lawyers Guild and after I graduated law school I became the first law student organizer, and then Executive Director of the National Lawyers Guild.
- Rubens: I didn't know that.
- Cloke: Yes. The Guild was a national legal organization that worked closely with movement organizations, including SDS. The interesting part is that there are people who came into the movement for one moment then left or stopped or moved on to other things, and there were other people who stayed with it through the entire period. I was fortunate to have been able to be not only at Berkeley, but at Columbia during the strike, in Paris in May of 68' and in Tokyo University during the student take over, and many other incredible, powerful events. So my trajectory ran not just through Berkeley, but on to national political organizing through the GI anti-war movement, work with Jane Fonda and the Winter Soldier Investigation, where it turns out I met John

Kerry but didn't know him, and later became a lawyer and organizer for Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Rubens: We must come back to this. Backing up, how and at what point did you decide to be a lawyer?

Cloke: Through the civil rights movement. In '62 I decided this was interesting to work in because I knew I wanted to spend my life helping create social justice, and the question was how to do so on a continuing basis. I realized that I had to have some way of doing, this and what I saw through the civil rights movement, part of which came from working with Ann Ginger at the Miekeljohn Civil Liberties Library – Michael Tigar and I both worked there as interns -- and what I was able to-

Rubens: When was this?

Cloke: This was in '62, '63. I was also taking a pre-law class and working on Lenny Bruce's defense.

Rubens: Let's say just a little about that, when was that?

Cloke: God, when was that? It must have been 1962 or 63?

Rubens: How did that come about?

Cloke: Lenny Bruce spoke in San Francisco and used the word "cocksucker" and was arrested. Professor Al Bendich defended him and I helped to research things like the number of references to cock sucking in the bible. Little things like that, and then also was present at the trial and helped out, as kind of a "go-fer". But I saw what he was able to do, which was to stand between the state and an individual person, or a movement of people, and force a recognition of freedom of speech, as a creative form in which it becomes possible to speak.

Rubens: By the way, were you married at the time?

Cloke: Not until 1963.

Rubens: I'm asking more in the sense that did you have to support a wife while supporting yourself?

Cloke: No, no, my first marriage was actually the movement, even when I was married, which wasn't a great thing for my marriage. We basically traveled together, went South together, worked for the Mobilization against the War together. I was in charge of legal defense for the mobilizations in New York and Washington D.C. at the Pentagon and Chicago, and she was working for the Mdobilization in those places.

- Rubens: And at the university did your parents support you? Did you have to work as a student?
- Cloke: For a period of time they gave me one hundred dollars a month
- Rubens: Of course we know there was no tuition.
- Cloke: There was no tuition, but I worked to pay the rest.
- Rubens: Did Bendich pay you to do some of this?
- Cloke: Oh no, no, this was totally voluntary. But I worked at various things. I was dirt poor. There were times when I nearly couldn't eat. I would be invited to go to various co-ops and they would feed me. I would get a loaf of bread and put peanut butter on it, and did little things like that to live. But mostly I would work at odd jobs. When Ann Ginger hired me, it was part of the work/study program. I worked also as a research assistant and a teaching assistant, but I also waited tables in the work/study program. In fact, a really bizarre, funny coincidence was that I was hired to wait tables at the Regent's meeting where they were considering whether to abolish compulsory ROTC. And because I was there inside the room with them I was able to go downstairs and tell the people on the picket line what they were deciding. I was waiting tables. But I loved the subversive character of the servant who is invisible listening in on the rulers conversations, and they had no idea that I was co-chair of the Committee to Abolish ROTC, or some such title as that.1-
- Rubens: Were you someone who was being hounded by Sherriffs or Strong or had you had-
- Cloke: To a certain extent I was. But it wasn't me, they were hounding SLATE, the organization. Sherriffs was always very polite to me. He may have hated me, and he certainly hated my goals, and he hated everybody trying to achieve them, including both Michaels, Michael Myerson and Michael Tigar. But he hated and was fascinated by us at the same time, and thought that what we were doing was really disrupting the university and we ought to be kicked out of it. And there was also the Berkeley Red Squad that was always hanging around and taking photographs.
- Rubens: And you knew about it?
- Cloke: Yes, but I think that what happened was that they didn't think that we were as dangerous as we actually became, and we didn't think we were either. So there was kind of a hiatus until we discovered what we actually stood for, and that happened through the FSM. We discovered that we actually had more power than we thought we had.

Rubens: So let's get to that. We're almost there. Your interning, you go south, we may have skipped some in 63, but you go south the summer of 64. When do you go to law school?

Cloke: Fall of 63

Rubens: And Michael had preceded you by-

Cloke: No actually we were in the same class because he went to London for a year to work as a KPFK reporter from London. He interviewed Bertrand Russell and he did a series of interviews from London.

Rubens: He has a book that came out last year, I think, a memoir. [*Fighting Injustice*]

Cloke: He wrote another one earlier which was about law and the rise of capitalism. I didn't know about the memoir.

So we entered law school together, but he was definitely more committed to being a lawyer. My first project was the movement and second was being a lawyer. Being a lawyer was really secondary, especially as I hated law school.

Rubens: I think he intellectually just loved it.

Cloke: He loved it intellectually.

Rubens: What about your relationship with SLATE once you were in law school?

Cloke: That is a whole different problem, which is what happens to ex-leaders. I had to give serious thought to this in order to encourage new leadership. The whole nature of leadership was changing in the organization. It turns out that there are a series of things ex-leaders can do. First, you can sweep floors and mimeograph leaflets and do that type of work. Second, you can give coaching to people offline. What you can't do is you can't give speeches where you are the leader because nobody new will develop those skills if they stand in your shadow. But SLATE was already beginning to give way to a new form of organization, which became the United Front and the beginnings of FSM. So the need for a campus political party was no longer quite as apparent. There wasn't as much purchase, if you will, in having someone who was on student government. It had become secondary.

Rubens: Do you think also the Ad Hoc Committee took over your attention?

Cloke: Yes, I was very involved in Ad Hoc. I left SLATE and I continued to support SLATE, but my focus was on Ad Hoc and organizing law students.

Rubens: Were you at Sheraton-Palace on sit in?-

- Cloke: Oh yes, I was at Mel's Drive-In, Sheraton Palace, Auto Row, and I was still on probation from an earlier arrest so I couldn't get arrested. But my wife was arrested at Sheraton Palace and I worked on the Sheraton Palace defense.
- Rubens: What were they arrested for?
- Cloke: Well, this is actually part of a larger question, and it happened frequently throughout the movement, which was, what did getting arrested *mean*? And you can think of it as standing up for what you believed in, but that's really simplistic. In truth, there's an existential truth at the moment, not of the arrest itself, the arrest itself is a kind of anti-climax. It was at the moment reached the decision to say, I need to stand for this.
- Rubens: Many people were saying that. They walked into Sproul Hall and said, "Am I going to get arrested, am I going to get kicked out of the university?"
- Cloke: Yes, and there's a part of me that was saying "who gives a damn and you have to do this anyway." The most important part is the part of you that is listening to the voice of principle within your soul. That is the moment of integrity that is so immense. That is the first movement, which is an internal movement, and the second movement is becoming a "criminal," becoming an outsider, becoming someone who has moved outside the law, who sees that there is a higher law and responds to it. And when you take that move, you have become a revolutionary, whether you are conscious of it or not.
- Rubens: Now looking back do you see that moment?
- Cloke: Yes.
- Rubens: And when was that?
- Cloke: The first moment for me when that occurred was probably the sit-ins at San Quentin protesting a quadruple execution.
- Rubens: This was Caryl Chessman?
- Cloke: No, this was later. This was the place where I met my wife. And the second moment it happened was in the Sheraton Palace hotel, and the third was in the South, and the fourth was in FSM. But the thing that-
- Rubens: And are you using that language? Are you saying to yourself—
- Cloke: No, no, it was not yet the language-
- Rubens: Of a criminal revolutionary?

- Cloke: No, no, not at all. This is subtle stuff. But what is it that defines a revolutionary? To me it is someone who no longer accepts the legitimacy of the existing legal order and posits an alternative legal order. I was already a socialist by this time.
- Rubens: You called yourself a socialist?
- Cloke: Probably, and I thought of myself as a socialist.
- Rubens: Did you join the Du Bois Club?
- Cloke: Yes, I did. At one point, Bettina Aptheker and I were roommates together with the Hallinan brothers. And so what happened is that- That was what happened, we lived together.
- Rubens: How long did you live with Mike Tigar?
- Cloke: We lived together until Michael started living with Pam, his future wife. Well, no actually, I guess he moved out a little bit before that. We roomed together at Barrington Hall and then I moved out and got an apartment and then we lived together in an apartment on McGee Street. And then we moved into an apartment on Parker Street.
- Rubens: So you remained very close friends?
- Cloke: We remained very close friends. And we continued to be friends after that. When I was in charge of legal defense for the Pentagon demonstrations, I stayed with him in Washington D.C. where he was working for Edward Bennett Williams.
- Rubens: So you were talking about joining the Du Bois Clubs and moving in with the Hallinan brothers and Bettina.
- Cloke: With Dynamite Hallinan. That was the period in which the Du Bois clubs were organized. I never joined the Communist Party. I always felt they were too closely allied with the Soviet Union, but I did begin to feel that I was a communist. I understood the theory and believed in the values of statelessness and community. But I didn't think of myself as particularly doctrinaire. I remember a dialogue with Brian Shannon, who at that point was very active in the Trotskyists and asked me what I thought about *Three Who Made a Revolution* by Bertram D. Wolfe. I told him I loved it and had read Trotsky and thought Trotsky was rather brilliant. And he told me I was a Trotskyist for that reason, but I was just naïve about their differences.
- Rubens: So you must have joined the DuBois Club in '63.

- Cloke: I think it was before Ad Hoc. And then Ad Hoc happened and that of course seeped into everything, but I wasn't in the Du Bois clubs for very long – they weren't around for very long. And Ad Hoc was immense, and Tracy Sims deserves some kind of sainthood, or something.
- Rubens: Apparently someone's going to interview her. She spoke but did not talk about her past and one of the NYU students made a date with her to interview her in New Jersey and she said she won't talk about that period. She uses a different name now.
- Cloke: She was wonderful. She was magnificent. But it was Ad Hoc that brought the black movement, not just black intellectuals, but the folks from Oakland, out into the Movement. And not just Tracy, Mark Comfort, who was an immense influence on all of us. I went to events all the time in the Black community, parties, meetings. I became very much a part of it and Black culture spoke to me deeply and profoundly. Mark Comfort was a big, immensely strong person who was very active in Ad Hoc. And he was not a student. He was a working class guy who loved politics. I think he was organized first by Roscoe Proctor. He was close to Roscoe. You know about Roscoe and Ginny Proctor.
- Rubens: Well, just that they were members of the Party and he also the ILWU.
- Cloke: And it's interesting because you were asking about my decision to go to law school. When I graduated from undergraduate school I had three options, four I guess. One was to become a longshoreman and join the B list and Herb Mills and others, some influenced by Party members like Roscoe Proctor, went and did that. The second was to go to law school. The third was to join a friend of mine. I grew up on horseback and he wanted to start a horse ranch. And the fourth was to go to graduate school in history, which I did later. But I chose the law school option because I thought that was going to be the most amenable to an activist oriented life.
- Rubens: And there was no question that you would go here?
- Cloke: Well I was accepted to Harvard and almost went to Harvard. They gave me a half scholarship, which I couldn't afford. My parents were not wealthy and I didn't want to be beholden to debt – they said I could have a scholarship the first year but if my grades weren't sufficient it would convert to a loan, and I did not want to be indebted to Harvard and have to work in a non-political job. I wanted to be in the movement, to be a full time movement person, so I went here to Berkeley instead.
- Rubens: Well, then you were embroiled in politics your first year of law school and then Mississippi Summer, well, we call this the summer you were in Georgia and then, so now we're at the Free Speech Movement.

- Cloke: Yes, and I also become the first lawyer for the Oakland Welfare Rights Organization when I was still in law school, which was organized in Oakland by the Harawitzes who were members of the Du Bois Club.
- Rubens: I don't know about that name.
- Cloke: Harawitz, h-a-r-a. They organized the Welfare Rights Organization in Oakland. It was sort of a Du Bois Club project. And when I was in law school I was representing welfare recipients.
- Rubens: So would this be your third year of law school after FSM?
- Cloke: Yes, my second and third year. But the second year was FSM. That took over everything. And I was actively involved in all the stuff around FSM but I felt that this was a new group of leadership and that I should not take a frontline leadership position in FSM because I felt I should be a supportive leader of new leaders. And Mario was so brilliant and articulate ...
- Rubens: Had you known Mario before?
- Cloke: I'd met Mario before, but I didn't really know him that well. I mean, he'd been involved in all the various things we were doing at the time, and we knew each other through Ad Hoc and all of that. But we hadn't really become close friends.
- Rubens: He hadn't quite become the leader, Mario-
- Cloke: He hadn't quite become Mario.
- Rubens: Were you there sitting around the car?
- Cloke: Oh yeah, oh yeah.
- Rubens: How did you learn about that?
- Cloke: I was walking by when they arrested Jack Weinberg.
- Rubens: You just happened to be there.
- Cloke: I just happened to be there because it was – I was always over there in the lunch hour, you know, coming to work at the tables. And I was one of the first fifteen or so people to sit down around the car. And when they hauled Jack into the car, I don't remember who it was, but someone said, "sit down." Maybe it was Jack.
- Rubens: Probably a lot of people.

Cloke: Yeah. But anyway, a small group of us sat down around the car. And then, I spoke on top of the car several times that afternoon and evening. I had a great moment, which I love, when I was urging people to sit down around the car and it was beginning to turn into night at the time. I spoke a couple – several times on top of the car. And it's just the way they described it, everybody was pouring their hearts out. I had the realization then that the role of leadership is to catch up with people once they start to move. And that's how you find out what leadership is, because there were lots of people who were left behind, who couldn't make that transition. Anyway, so a great moment occurred when I was speaking on top of the car and the sun was going down, and there was a group of blind students who were there who decide to sit down together.

Rubens: And you can tell because they've got their canes?

Cloke: Yes, they've got their canes, and I remember thinking to myself, this is dangerous because they're blind and it's getting dark. Then I realized, you idiot, they'll do better than anybody here if it gets dark. And the other thing that I haven't heard a lot of people mention, which is the sound of the police on motorcycles approaching the place where we were gathered. We were standing around and all of a sudden there was an incredible rumbling sound like tanks approaching, and we realized that this was the police coming and all the motorcycles that were coming. And that was a moment of truth when you had to assess whether you were going to stand up for what you believed in. It was frightening, and like a vision of fascism, just from the sound, though it may sound weird to say it this way.

Rubens: No, no, it's very evocative.

Cloke: Yes, and so we were around the police car the whole night, you know, just talking to each other.

Rubens: Did you become involved in the United Front?

Cloke: Oh yes, I was involved in that – I went to lots of meetings with United Front and supported it. And again, I was determined not to take a frontline position but to be supportive. The moment I remember clearest is the waves of people who were joining us and sitting down, and how thrilling that was because this was brand new and we knew that this was something immense that was happening in our lives.

Rubens: Here on your campus.

Cloke: It was unbelievable to me. And of course to the people who were in it, they didn't have much of a historical point of reference so going from struggling to get fifteen people on a picket line to thousands sitting down, it was shocking that this could happen. And that was a moment of revolutionary joy that everybody experienced and held on to.

- Rubens: Now I get the impression that the law school seemed pretty removed from what you were doing. Do you remember going back and talking to students?
- Cloke: Oh yes, trying to recruit students and getting involved. One of the lawyers for the Chancellor's office is Mike Smith who I recruited to FSM. He was arrested and when the sit in happened I was one of the people – Well, I went to the law school and had points taken off my grade in Taxation for being on strike. I tried to recruit law students to come down, but my focus wasn't primarily on law students. That was secondary to the movement on the campus. But I was trying to recruit law students and use the Law Students' Civil Rights Research Council that we were organizing as a way of drawing people into these efforts. A bunch of the law students in our class came down and participated in the strike.
- I was in Sproul Hall until about midnight, somewhere close to that. It was before the arrests and before they shut down the building and wouldn't let people back in. I decided I was going to go out and get some peanut butter because we'd run out of peanut butter. So I left the building and got the peanut butter and when I came back I couldn't get back in. But I stayed there all night and watched the arrests and organized demonstrations the next day. I would have been arrested if I hadn't left to get peanut butter.
- Rubens: Were there any law professors that you recall talking to about it or were they just –
- Cloke: Oh yes, I talked to everybody about it. There weren't many law professors who were very sympathetic. Michael Heyman of course was somewhat sympathetic. [inaudible] wasn't teaching in the law school. [inaudible] sort of liked the disorder of it all but didn't really agree with any of the politics.
- Rubens: I don't know who that is.
- Cloke: He taught procedure. [inaudible] was vicious against the Free Speech Movement. Most of the professors were opposed.
- Rubens: Bauxbaum became a lawyer for the university.
- Cloke: Yes, he was very conservative. Not a bad person, but very conservative. The whole of the law school – Herma Hill Kay was the one person who actually had principle and she was great, and she supported me personally by saying "I appreciate what you're doing. I'm not going to do anything but I appreciate that you're doing it".
- Rubens: So did you actually hear Mario's "there comes a time" speech?
- Cloke: Oh, of course, yes. It chilled me to the bone, because he resonated so powerfully with his own passion. He spoke from his own passion to the

passion inside you. I couldn't believe that everybody was marching in. I knew we were going to do it of course beforehand because I was part of the meetings that were planning it, but when it happened it was such an incredibly powerful moment of truth. For me it was just shocking that so many people decided to do this. And, of course, the thing that is missing in most of the accounts of what happens in civil disobedience, especially moments like this, is the *ecstasy* of the moment.

Rubens: Of walking in?

Cloke: Of walking in by the solidarity individual. There's a physics phenomenon called a Bose-Einstein condensate, which is what happens when you take a group of atoms and chill them down to nearly absolute zero and they become like a single atom, and that's what happened with us. We became a single person. We connected with each other at a deep, non-superficial level through love. So when Che wrote that, at the risk of seeming ridiculous, a revolutionary needs to be guided by feelings of love, I know what that is like. And it was the same in Columbia, and it was the same in Paris, and it was the same in Tokyo, and it was the same all over the place wherever I went when people actually came together in this moment. And were prepared to surrender their lives for what they believed in. And that's why people can't forget it, is because it was such a high. Now the difficulty is on some level you have to forget it in order to be able to move on in your life. And there are people who became trapped and couldn't do that.

Rubens: With the mechanics literally of then afterward were you involved in getting bail and with—

Cloke: Oh yes, getting bail, legal defense, the whole thing, I worked on all that. With Mal Bernstein. Mal Bernstein and a whole bunch—one of the things we did earlier was to organize in law school a study group for left lawyers. Michael Tigar and I and others were involved in it. We were all law students and Mal Bernstein met every week with us to teach us.

Rubens: As a result of the FSM?

Cloke: No, before. Before he became counsel for the FSM. This was to teach us how to become movement lawyers. It was fabulous. We learned about demonstration law, civil rights law, sit-ins, we had— you know, this was a class that we took separate from law school. Michael and I were working on the Civil Liberties Docket and the Civil Rights Handbook so we knew about lots of cases across the country. As a result we knew more about current constitutional law than our professors did in this area.

Rubens: And was this happening the same year as the Sheraton Palace demonstrations?

- Cloke: Yes, it was. In fact we all wrote motions and participated in the legal defense on Sheraton Palace. The bizarre thing was that they used this as the moot court issue for Boalt Hall that year and assigned me to the prosecution! I won best oral argument for the prosecution and as they were complementing me afterwards for having won it, I said that actually my argument was full of holes and here's why. Of course that was partly because my wife was among the defendants and I was even more deeply involved in her trial.
- Rubens: She was not in law school?
- Cloke: No, she wasn't.
- Rubens: I had never heard of that study group, that's a nice thing, that must have been really.
- Cloke: Yes, that was great. We also formed the California Committee for Justice. CCJ, CCJP? What the hell was it? Aryay Lenske, Peter Frank ...
- Rubens: Was Aryay in law school?
- Cloke: No, he didn't go to law school. We organized this group to basically support civil liberties around the state.
- Rubens: When would this be?
- Cloke: '63, I guess.
- Rubens: You graduated from law school in –
- Cloke: '66
- Rubens: Okay, you had one more year of law school after the FSM.
- Cloke: Yes, that was when we organized the National Lawyers Guild's first student chapter in the National Lawyers Guild since the fifties at the law school. I was the main organizer for that, and that was how I became the law student organizer for the Guild.
- Rubens: That is, so was that 65, '66, that was after the Free Speech Movement?
- Cloke: Yes, that was after the Free Speech Movement. I was also involved at the time in organizing the graduate union because I was a TA and a research assistant at the time. So I helped a bit on that.
- Rubens: Who did you TA for?

- Cloke: I TA'ed for Laurence Harper, a constitutional history professor, and I was a research assistant for Jacobus tenBroek.
- Rubens: I think this takes us into your professional career as a –
- Cloke: Revolutionary?
- Rubens: Yes, did you ever teach, then did you become a professor?
- Cloke: Oh yes, much later I became a history professor at Occidental College and Cal State Dominguez Hills and El Camino College, and I was a law professor at Southwest University School of Law and I'm now an adjunct law professor at Pepperdine University.
- Rubens: What's that like? It's not of your political grain.
- Cloke: Oh, it's very conservative.
- Rubens: Maybe that's just where someone like you should be.
- Cloke: What I do now is I am a professional mediator, and an arbitrator. I resolve conflicts between people, organizational conflicts, social conflicts, community conflicts, divorces, litigation, and what it's about really is something very similar to what I was striving to do at that time, which is to build dialogue and collaboration and empower people to design just laws. To my left wing friends I define mediation as "the withered away judicial state." And that's basically what it is. I've written several books about mediation and several books about organizations and work. One is called "The End of Management and the Rise of Organizational Democracy," and it's about democratic management. Part of it comes from working in movement team building and collaborative efforts, and trying to promote empowerment. For the last seventeen years, I've been going twice a year to Cuba, helping train Cuban managers across the country in management techniques, and working at a very high level within the Cuban government. This was a project that was initiated by Fidel, and we have worked directly with Fidel and Carlos Lage who is Vice President. And we have provided the information and techniques and theory needed to translate socialist principles into democratic workplaces.
- Rubens: And also take it down -
- Cloke: —crank it down to the level of the individual workplace team. And they're doing it.
- Rubens: Sure, networking and conflict resolution and mediating - these are the words you're using now but it sounds like you're doing all that then; you're not in the front line in FSM, but you're there, you attended meetings, they're looking for advice and-

- Cloke: Oh yes, all the time, and I played the same role as SDS. I was not an elected leader but played a similar role.
- Rubens: How would you have encountered SDS then? SDS comes to campus –
- Cloke: I first encountered SDS when Tom Hayden came to the SLATE summer conference in '61; when he went south, this was in '61. And afterwards I received copies of letters he wrote to Al Haber during his tour through the South and meetings in the civil rights movement. That was my first contact, and then going to the National Student Association Conference in Madison Wisconsin, meeting Paul Potter and other SDS members of the “liberal caucus” in NSA. And then SDS came to Berkeley but it wasn't very active, it wasn't very big in Berkeley. But it was tremendous in other parts of the country, and I was very active in SDS stuff in '67, '68, and '69.
- Rubens: So where are you based? You had been organizing the Lawyers Guild Student Chapter–
- Cloke: Right, that was in Detroit.
- Rubens: You do this while you were in law school, at Cal, while you were organizing that
- Cloke: Oh yes, right.
- Rubens: You graduate law school and your job is actually –
- Cloke: Well my first job after law school was as a lawyer for the Oakland Welfare Rights Organization under a state law that gave money for this, but was vetoed by Ronald Reagan. Then I was accepted to graduate school in social welfare because I thought I was going to do more work with welfare recipients. But I made a proposal to the Lawyers Guild to hire me to organize law student chapters around the country. Many members were shocked at the idea but because we'd organized a student chapter at Boalt they hired me to do it. Aryay Lenske had been Executive Secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, and Dave Rynan, both from SLATE. They were not lawyers; you didn't need to be one. They were organizers.

During the civil rights movement the Lawyers Guild played a huge role, and this was the beginning of the second great period of building the Lawyers Guild. But it was focused in Detroit – So when I became the Law Student Organizer I traveled around the country and organized Guild chapters, and in some places ACLU chapters. I met with law students and connected them with what was happening in the Movement, which was usually SDS or the anti-war movement. So I went around the country doing that and next they hired me to be the Executive Director (then Executive Secretary) of the Lawyers Guild, and I moved the national office from Detroit to New York

City. And then, instead of using the civil rights movement as the focal point we used the anti-war movement and the draft. So I set up draft counseling centers around the country, trained people in draft counseling and wrote brochures and manuals -- even a book on draft counseling which I ended up not publishing. I traveled around the country and around the world representing the National Lawyers Guild, basically pulling people into movement activities and local demonstrations, and connecting them to the Lawyers Guild. But my major project was to ensure the continuity of the Guild into the next generation, and it is probably the only "old left" organization from the 30's that made that transition.

- Rubens: That's amazing, I can imagine. So how long did you –
- Cloke: Several years – the Guild became an alliance between the new left and the Party. It was the only place where that alliance actually took place.
- Rubens: How long were you there?
- Cloke: I was in New York City from the end of 67 into 1969, but 68 was the longest year.
- Rubens: You know, you just said something I actually don't want to let slip, you said bringing together the new left and the Party. Was the Lawyers Guild dominated by the Party at that point?
- Cloke: In the New York City Chapter the Party was the most active organized element. It differed in some places but the Party was basically a mainstay of the Guild. There was a Lawyers Committee within the Party which was separate from the Guild and they saw the Guild as a front organization, and the Party at the time didn't have a very good way of participating in front organizations.
- Rubens: I'm asking about you, then you as your role, I mean did you have to go to Party meetings?
- Cloke: No, but occasionally I chose to go. I was asked to speak at some Party meetings and I spoke at May Day in New York City with Gus Hall.
- Rubens: Now at Berkeley, during FSM, there were Party people involved; certainly Bettina, but it wasn't a Party action. It had its own life, and that's what I was wondering if that's what started to happen with the Lawyers Guild.
- Cloke: Exactly, and I saw that as part of my job, to make that unity on the left happen. So I hired Bernadine Dorhn to be our law student organizer right out of law school. And her job was to form an alliance with SDS and bring law students into the Guild and the Guild into support for SDS activities.

- Rubens: So she was already a member of SDS?
- Cloke: She was a member of SDS. That's one reason why I hired her. And we worked together for two years doing that. In the meantime, I began to transition from setting up draft counseling to military counseling. So I transitioned to representing GIs. I worked with Don Duncan who was a Green Beret Sergeant who became an open opponent of the Vietnam War. Mark Lane, Duncan and I met with Jane Fonda and recruited her to support the GI movement. I worked with Jane for several years on the Winter Soldier investigations and GI coffee house and support work.
- Rubens: You were no longer part of the Lawyers Guild?
- Cloke: I started this when I was still at the Lawyers Guild and helped set up an alliance with the GI movement, finding lawyers for the GI Coffee House Movement.
- Rubens: Do you reconnect with Barbara Garson, wasn't she –
- Cloke: Barbara was involved in that. I also represented Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the GI Coffee House Movement.
- Rubens: And where were you doing that?
- Cloke: When I moved to Los Angeles. While in New York I was asked to become Managing Editor of the *Guardian* newspaper, but turned it down because of the GI anti-war movement, because I felt that was a place where I could really have an impact on helping end the war. I deeply wanted to stop the war. And so I moved to LA and we set up Support Our Soldiers, United States Servicemen Fund, Movement for a Democratic Military in the Marine Corps, and I wrote a Military Counseling Manual that was published by the Lawyers Guild, which was designed to help lawyers and others learn how to counsel anti-war GIs. I went to Stockholm and met with the Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese representatives who were very interested in information about the GI movement. I then went to Paris in May of '68, that was how I got to be there, and managed somehow to give a speech in French on top of a police car.
- Rubens: Literally on top of a police car?
- Cloke: Yes. I got my picture in *France Soir*. This was my second police car to be on top of. Then I became SDS's representative to the Zengakuren in Japan, which was a large student anti-war organization.
- Rubens: I was going to ask when was that?

Cloke: That was in 1968, everything happened in '68. I kept what I called a political diary for the Lawyers Guild of my activities as Executive Director to show them what I was doing because I was trying to show to the Board what the new role of the Lawyers Guild needed to be. So I wrote down everything I did and gave it to them as a way of saying here's what we are doing on a daily basis and here are the places where we can now focus our energy and attention.

Then Chicago happened and I was in charge of organizing legal defense for the Chicago demonstrations. But what happened in Chicago was of course something completely different from what we planned. I was working with the Mobilization from the beginning and organizing the Chicago demonstrations. The Lawyers Guild offices in New York were in the same building as the Mobilization Against the War, so I met often with [David] Dellinger, Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis. We were constantly coordinating about how to set this thing up, and I was flying to Chicago to set up legal defense. But what happened, as a result of the strike at Columbia was a radicalization that led to the Weather Underground. I was active in opposing the Weathermen, in spite of the fact that Bernadine was on that side and we split over that. Hamish Sinclair, do you know Hamish?

Rubens: I've met him through someone, and I certainly know the name.

Cloke: Hamish was living with Bernadine and they were lovers. And Hamish and I worked to try to get Bernadine to adopt more of an organizing perspective on Chicago but we didn't succeed. J.J. (John Jacobs), who was involved at Columbia, Mike James and a bunch of the other people wanted to start guerilla warfare in the streets. And Tom Hayden helped start this process - he was moving in that direction. But our perspective was a little different, which was you know how to come out of this with some form of organization. But we were marginalized and I was at the SDS National Interim Committee meetings, which was the governing body of SDS, before and after Chicago.

Rubens: There was RYM 1 and II.

Cloke: Yes, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, I and II, an evolution of the Weathermen after Jim Mellon wrote the first article for *New Left Notes* using that title. That was the beginning of the end. The split that took place at that point was between two different visions of what the revolutionary movement should be like, which were polar opposites, but what was missing was the middle and that was where I stood. I understood the emotional intensity that led to Weathermen.

Rubens: Their frustrations about the war.

Cloke: Yes, and had those frustrations myself. And I was very close to it because I was close to GIs who were going and those who were coming back. I was also a lawyer for Vietnam Veterans Against the War. So I was seeing all this stuff first hand that was happening, and on the other hand, the obvious fact that we didn't have a base. And we needed to have a better perspective on this issue without slipping into Maoist dogmatism, or ignoring what was really the brilliance of FSM and the brilliance of SDS, which was their capacity for openness to what was happening and willingness to engage in honest soul searching.

Rubens: I know you need to go in ten minutes and here you yourself have brought us back to what brought us together today to talk about FSM. One of the things that becomes so clear is this evolution, there is an important history that leads up to FSM. FSM produces a new generation of leadership, but in this time that remains is there anything else to discuss that you were thinking about in terms of the nature of leadership. There was something you just said – about openness.

It seems to me that's an intention. You need a leadership that's in a position to either negotiate compromise or say no let's turn to our mass and see what they think about it. FSM was a very focused and limited movement in time, and the mass support wasn't there after awhile until the administration made mistakes I mean there were spontaneous moments but there was leadership that really was couched within –

Cloke: Yes, you're right. If you take the view that there should be no leadership you don't go anywhere. This is the hippie approach. And if you take the view that leadership is the only focal point you lose sight of what is dynamic in the relationship between leadership and the people who are *creating* that leadership moment by moment. So what I realized through the leadership of the FSM was several things. One concerns this book, *Three Who Made a Revolution*. Why was it that you had Lenin plus Trotsky and Stalin? One way of looking at it is that the movement demanded those three voices. They had to have the passion of Trotsky, they had to have the organization of Stalin, and they had to have the capacity for synthesis and the genius of Lenin. And in a similar way social movements elicit the forms of leadership that they need. They draw it forth and reinforce it.

I felt I was created as a leader by the movement. I didn't choose to do it. It wasn't my decision to do this. I would have preferred not to – to have taken more of a background position. I couldn't, I wasn't allowed to. I later developed the strength and the knowledge of how to work in a background position and be ten times more effective than the one who was in the public eye. Somebody came up to me once at Berkeley when I was in student government and said, "You're a communist. You want to know how I know?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Because you don't look like one." But what

happened in FSM was that there wasn't a single leader but a diversity of leadership that was brought forward. There's not just a Mario Savio, there was a Michael Rossman and a Bettina Aptheker et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Rubens: Did you have that within SLATE too?

Cloke: Yes, absolutely. There was a Mike Myerson and a Michael Miller and a Mike Tigar and lots of other people.

Rubens: So that history of SLATE has to be done, too.

Cloke: Oh yes. Absolutely. At one of the recent reunions there was a session on women in SLATE. It was magnificent, wonderful, and I attended it. There were two men who came to it. Michael Rossman was the other man who was there.

Rubens: I think Barry Shapiro's wife was active.

Cloke: Oh, yeah, Julianne. She was very active in SLATE. And there was an amazing, intense, powerful discussion of what had happened to women inside SLATE. On the one hand, there were women who played strong leadership roles, Cindy Lemke was a chair person of SLATE early on. Susan Witkovski was very active in SLATE. Susie Griffin was very active in SLATE. Pattie Iyama This was a place where women could stand forward. They were allowed and expected to take these roles, and at the same time there was a lot of machismo bullshit. And this continued through the movement. My wife was very involved in the women's movement from the very beginning so I know about the early beginnings of the women's movement. Yet at Columbia during the strike, I was asked by a group of women to teach a class on women's liberation. I knew that this wasn't the right thing to do but I didn't exactly understand why. I didn't know what to say in response so what I said was, "How about if I teach a class on the liberation of women and men." And they thought that was great, so I taught this class and was almost lynched by the people in the class because we had a huge argument about the sexual objectification of women and marginalization that was done by men in the movement as a part of a patriarchal revolutionary idea.

Rubens: Who were you almost lynched by?

Cloke: By people who were there - not literally. By men who were leaders in the movement. Not by the women. The women loved it but the men who were leaders in the movement felt they were being accusing. I didn't think I was accusing them. I thought I was just exposing what we all would recognize as the truth. I was also at SDS meetings where this discussion happened, and then along came the gay movement, which really challenged people and was fabulous. I happened to be a very close friend of the first head of the Gay Liberation Movement in New York, who I didn't know was gay but who came

out later, and with Andy [Andrew] Kopkind who I didn't know was gay. But the fact that I had a friendship with them beforehand made it easier to hear these things. The really important part of this is about leadership and on the one hand breaking away from existing culture while on the other hand not having a thorough critique of it. But that's okay. 1-01:00:25

Rubens: You said something in the very beginning about not knowing at the time the internal – We were talking about the sort of emotional truths, the internal issues of freedom and tyranny that we didn't deal with. I mean some of this had to do with the deeply ingrained values or characteristics of society. The whiteness, sexism – I wondered what else you thought you meant when you said that?

Cloke: Well there are several things. On one level we simply didn't have the vocabulary to talk about these things. We didn't know how. We didn't know how to have an intelligent emotional conversation. I mean a conversation about what we were feeling. We saw that as a diversion.

Rubens: Or a stepping away from.

Cloke: A stepping away from the issues. We didn't know how to challenge each other in supportive ways. We didn't know enough about the narcotic of power. One of the reasons I chose to step away from leadership positions – was because of my awareness of my own addiction and the addiction of others, and the need to recreate myself as a committed person who was not a leader in the sense of public leadership. This became bizarre in 62'-63', in a way that scared me. I came home one evening and found a woman in my bed who I did not know. I was in the front page of the *Daily Californian* basically every day and this scared me. At one point I remember giving a speech and receiving a standing ovation and what I'd done in the speech was I'd used some tricks, sort of rhetoric tricks. And I realized how unprincipled this was, and how I had to reach people on the basis of content and not through tricks. I realized how corrosive this sort of power was, even the power of being in opposition, and I realized that I had to dismantle it first within myself. And that's when I began a personal quest. I didn't know where I was going to end up.

Rubens: The story about the woman is that she's giving herself to you because she's –

Cloke: Because she found me attractive because I had some form of power. And it scared me and I felt myself becoming someone I was not. It was like being taken over by power. When you get a certain amount of adulation you start to believe it, but of course I knew it wasn't true. And I credit my parents for a fundamental sense of humility that allowed me to see that this was the truth, and to recognize that that was not who I wanted to be. So I pulled back from it and – not from commitment and not from playing a less public leadership role, but to be able to assess it. And I now understand about power that in

order to assume a position with any kind of power at all, you have to develop a thorough going critique of it within yourself. If you don't, it will take you over and almost nobody is prepared for it. They don't know how to handle it.

Rubens: And when did you go to – I'm interrupting, I'm sorry –When did you decide that you would study history? Did you get an advanced degree?

Cloke: In 1975. I decided to get a PhD in history and a second law degree called an LL.M. So I went back in 75' and got my PhD in 80' from UCLA.

Rubens: What did you write on?

Cloke: I actually wrote several dissertations that year. One of them was a follow up on the dissertation that I wrote for Professor Kenneth Stamp which was about utopian communities in the United States in the 1830s. One was about civil liberties protest movements from TASC to SLATE to FSM, and that's how I started the chronology I'm going to send you, which is an excerpt from that. And then I wrote a dissertation for law school on theories of justice and another on the doctrine of termination at will in labor law.

Rubens: How is that labor law?

Cloke: The doctrine of termination at will means the ability to fire somebody for a good reason, a bad reason or no reason at all.

Rubens: You are a continuous learner.

Cloke: Oh yes, I study all the time. I'm reading and studying various things now.

Rubens: What a history lesson this has been to me.

Cloke: How sweet of you to say that. You're so kind, thank you.

Rubens: Did you raise a family too.

Cloke: Oh yes, yes. My daughter Elka just graduated from medical school.

Rubens: Congratulations.

Cloke: Thank you. And my son Nick just got married. He's now a teacher and he just became director of admissions of a great little elementary school and wants to start his own school.

Rubens: Are they near you?

Cloke: My son is near me in Santa Monica. I love them both dearly. Being a father was a huge piece of my life. There were lots of life influences, one of which

was Marx, one was Freud, one was Buddhism, one was being a parent. There is a part of me that was defined in the movement and part that came from learning about mediation, which includes as one of its pieces the idea of transcendence and that's what transcendence of power is about. When you overcome the illusion of power you gain the ability to use it, but not until then. Otherwise you become convinced that it's you, and it isn't. Power is a relationship, and until you see that you can't understand it and won't respect it and won't respect the people on the other side of that relationship.

Rubens: Well your experience has been so deeply collective. Thank you for this interview.